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AUTHOR Ishikawa, Minako
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ABSTRACT

This analysis of repeated utterances in Japanese conversational discourse focuses on repetition as an expression of iconicity. In the analysis of a 30-minute conversation among 4 Japanese speakers, the iconic meanings expressed by both reduplication and conversational repetition are highlighted. The iconicity characteristic of conversational data is also demonstrated, recognizing a different form-meaning relationship in discourse from that in reduplication. It is argued that the functions of repetition in discourse demonstrated in earlier work with English can also be seen as iconicity. The iconic meanings in discourse parallel to those in morphology, expressed by repetition in form, are intensity, iteration, and continuation. Due to the multi-dimensional character of discourse, repeated utterances iconically correspond to the repeated idea and stance of participants, creating interactional iconicity. It is concluded that examples of iconicity serve as evidence for a strong correspondence between form and meaning. (MSE)

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ICONICITY IN DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF REPETITION IN JAPANESE

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1. INTRODUCTION

An arbitrary relationship between a linguistic sign and its meaning has been an assumption since Saussure. However, Peirce (1955: 98-119) recognizes other kinds of linguistic signs according to their relations to the object they denote. One kind is an icon, that is, "a sign which would possess the character which renders it significant, even though its object had no existence" (p. 104)[1]. As an example, Lyons (1977: 102), in his chapter on semiotics, describes onomatopoeia as iconic since its phonetic form resembles what it denotes. Peirce further classifies icons into three categories: (1) an **image** resembling its object in terms of some characteristic, of which onomatopoeia is an example, (2) a metaphor representing a parallel between the sign and its object, and finally, (3) a **diagram** resembling not the looks but the relations it represents of the parts of its object. An example for this is a tree diagram in which the relations between nodes resemble the relations between what they denote in a sentence. It is this last type of iconicity, that

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[1] According to this definition, what an icon denotes may/may not have ontological status in reality, and therefore, linguists working on iconicity have interpreted the definition in two ways. For example, Bybee (1985), Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins (in prep), and Haiman (1980) interpret iconicity as representing psychological reality whereas Waugh and Newfield (in press) interpret it as not necessarily representing reality since their definition of "meaning" seems to be not an object in reality, but a concept which mediates the sign and the object, following Ogden and Richards (1923).

is, diagrammatic iconicity, that I am concerned with in this paper[2].

As Waugh and Newfield (in press) point out in their discussion of iconicity in lexicon, the principle underlying diagrammatic iconicity is that of isomorphism. That is, "sameness of form signals sameness of meaning, difference of form signals difference of meaning" (pp. 18-9). As examples of an iconic relationship between the morpheme and its meaning in lexicon, Waugh and Newfield discuss that each -er in words like dancer, worker, and speaker carries the same meaning (ie. an agent of action), conforming to the isomorphism that sameness of form signals sameness of meaning. Moreover, the difference in form of these words as in dance, work, and speak, represents the difference in meaning, also conforming to the isomorphism. Waugh and Newfield further discuss that a smaller unit than a morpheme, ie, a phonestheme, is also associated with iconicity such as initial /fl-/ in flap, flare, flee, flick, fling, in that /fl-/ expresses quick and smooth movement common to the action expressed by each verb. Examples of lexical iconicity such as the above are numerous in the English vocabulary and lead Waugh and Newfield to propose a model of lexical structure based on iconicity.

Examples of diagrammatical iconicity are not limited to

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[2] Following most of the researchers working on iconicity, I interpret Peirce's definition of iconicity as based on resemblance between the sign and its object although there is a criticism of interpreting iconicity as resemblance (see Eco [1972], for example).

lexicon, or to English. Bybee (1985), proposing principles of morphology based on her cross-linguistic examination of verbal inflection, discusses diagrammatic iconicity between the order of the grammatical morpheme (such as tense and aspect) with respect to the verb to which it is bound and their conceptual relevance to the meaning of the verb[3]. In her examinations of 50 languages of the world, Bybee finds a striking tendency that "the closer (more relevant) the meaning of the inflectional morpheme is to the meaning of the verb, the closer its expression unit will occur to the verb stem" (p. 35). In other words, the distance of two morphemes iconically represents the distance of their meanings.

This correlation between formal distance and semantic distance is also found at the syntactic level as Haiman (1980, 1985) points out. As one example of this correlation, Haiman discusses the expression of causation. He finds a general principle that "the linguistic distance between cause and effect is motivated by the conceptual distance between cause and effect, and the conceptual (or in some cases, physical) distance between causer and causee" (pp. 110-1). Thus, causation where the direct physical contact between causer and causee takes place tends to be expressed lexically or morphologically whereas indirect causation where cause and effect occur at different times and

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[3] Bybee defines relevance as follows: a meaning element is relevant to another meaning element if the semantic content of the first directly affects or modifies the semantic content of the second (p. 13).

places tends to be expressed syntactically.

Yet another example of diagrammatic iconicity besides the above at the lexical, morphological, and syntactic levels, is a phenomenon of reduplication. Sapir (1921: 57-81) notes "the prevalence of reduplication" and its iconic meanings such as "distribution, plurality, repetition, customary activity, increase of size, added intensity, continuance" (p. 76). Moravcsik (1978), in her cross-linguistic examination of reduplicative constructions, also reports meanings that are recurrent in reduplication. She suggests that the most general category of meaning which reduplication expresses is "increased quantity" subsuming specific meanings such as plural, distributive, iterative, habitual, reciprocal, and intensive (ie. increased "quantity of energy investment or size of effect" [p. 321]). As Bybee (1985: 151) points out, these meanings are diagrammatically iconic: the reduplicated form, namely, increased quantity of form, resembles the relation of the resultant meaning and its original meaning, that is, increased quantity of meaning.

Bybee, Pagliuca, and Perkins (in preparation) also discuss iconic meanings of verbal reduplication across languages, which are iterative, continuative, frequentative, dual/plural, progressive, habitual, and intransitive. They note that these meanings are different in the degree of iconicity and find that the closer the reduplicated form occurs with respect to the verb stem, the more iconic its meaning is.

Thus, the phenomena of reduplication offer evidence for iconic relations between form and meaning[*]. This now leads me to a similar phenomenon to reduplication; for example, repeated utterances in conversational discourse. Given that iconicity is found at the lexical, morphological, and syntactic levels of language, I expect that iconicity may be found also at the discourse level. Given also that reduplication is associated with iconic meanings, I would expect that repetition in conversation may also convey iconic meanings. The goal of my paper is to show that there is in fact iconicity in discourse, and that repetition in my Japanese conversational data expresses iconicity. In the analysis of a 30-minute conversation among four Japanese speakers, I first point out iconic meanings expressed by both reduplication and conversational repetition. I then proceed to demonstrate iconicity characteristic of conversational data, recognizing a different form-meaning relationship in discourse from that in reduplication. For this latter kind of iconicity, ie. what I call "interactional iconicity," I base my argument on Tannen's work on repetition in discourse (Tannen 1987a, b, 1989), and I argue that the functions of repetition which she demonstrates can be also seen as iconicity in discourse.

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[*] However, meanings associated with reduplication are not always iconic. For example, Moravcsik (1978) and Haiman (1980) note that reduplication expresses diminution and attenuation.

2.METHODOLOGY

The data examined in this study are a 30-minute tape-recorded conversation in Japanese which was part of a cross-cultural analysis of disagreement as a speech act. The participants in the conversation were four Japanese female graduate students at Georgetown University, including myself. The three participants, other than myself, were very close friends. I was introduced by one of them to the others at the time of data-collection. In order to prompt disagreement among the participants, I showed the participants a video which concerns cross-cultural miscommunication[5]. After showing the video, I asked a question about the video to initiate a conversation. Each participant immediately started to express her opinion in turn rather freely, and therefore, no attempt was made on my part to deliberately manipulate or control the conversation[6].

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[5] This video, "Cross Talk," edited by John Gumperz, shows cross-cultural miscommunication between Indian residents and British people in London. Consequently the conversation in my study contains the participants' agreements and disagreements on the behavior of the two ethnic groups and the participants' cross-cultural experiences.

[6] My participation in the conversation as both the researcher and a participant may be viewed as a defect causing a lack of objectivity as Schiffrin (1987b: 17) points out. However, as Schiffrin and Tannen (1984: 33) note, the researcher's own sense of what was happening in the interaction is as valid as that of other participants. Therefore, I am more able to interpret subtle uses of forms as one of the participants in the interaction.

For classification of the forms of repetition in the conversation, I follow Tannen's three formal dimensions (Tannen 1987a: 586): (1) self- vs. allo-repetition, that is, repetition of oneself vs. repetition of others, (2) a scale of fixity ranging from exact repetition to paraphrase, and (3) a temporal scale, ranging from immediate to delayed repetition. In this paper I focus on self- and allo-repetition of exact word(s) said within the same turn or in the immediately following turn[7].

3.PARALLEL ICONICITY IN REDUPLICATION AND CONVERSATIONAL REPETITION

In order to support my thesis, ie. iconicity in discourse as expressed by conversational repetition, I draw a parallelism between iconic meanings expressed by reduplication and conversational repetition. I discuss three such iconic meanings: intensity, iteration, and continuation.

3.1.INTENSITY

The first iconic meaning I present here is emphasis. Moravcsik (1978: 319-321) reports examples of reduplication expressing "increased intensiveness" (p. 321) from many languages (such as Agta, Thai, and Tagalog). The following are Turkish examples of partial reduplication (ie. repetition of the part of a morpheme) from Godel's study (Godel 1941: 6) cited by

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[7] By "word" I mean more than one free morpheme.

Moravcsik.

(1)a		dolu	"full"
		dopdolu	"quite full"
	b	beyaz	"white"
		bembeyaz	"quite white"

The parts of the morphemes dolu meaning "full" and beyaz meaning "white" are repeated to convey added intensity of the quality of "fullness" and "white."

Total reduplication (repetition of the whole morpheme) also expresses emphasis as Moravcsik reports. The examples below are from Sundanese in Robins'study (Robins 1959: 355).

(2)a		hayan	"want"
		hayanhayan	"want very much"
	b	rame	"to be jolly"
		ramerame	"to be very jolly"

The repetition of morphemes hayan meaning "want" and rame meaning "to be jolly" gives emphasis.

Parallel to emphatic meaning expressed by reduplication, repetition in conversation also expresses intensity. In my conversational data, out of a total of 13 occurrences of self-repetition, 11 are used for making emphasis. The following example occurs when a participant, Mami, states her experience of an identity crisis when she came over from Japan to live on a dairy farm in Wisconsin as a teenager. Prior to this excerpt, she tells the other participants that she did not like to do her

chores on the farm because she was questioning her identity. In the following transcriptions in this paper, I show a Japanese transcription with English glosses under the Japanese on the left column and the English paraphrases on the right[8]. Repetition is underlined.

(3)

1 Mami:	anoo, jibun-wa nan nan-da-roo well I-TOPIC what COPULA-wonder	and I strongly thought, "What am I?" then.
2	nan-te sugoku omoi-mashi-ta ne, that strongly think-PAST	
3	sonotoki. then	
4	nan nan-da-roo tte.	like "What am I?"

Mami's strong doubt about her identity, due to her exposure to a different culture, is emphasized by the adverb sugoku ("strongly") in line 2. However, the repetition of her utterance "What am I?" in line 4 convey even more strongly and effectively her feelings about an identity crisis.

Another example comes from the same speaker, Mami, concerning a character in the video shown to the participants prior to the conversation. The character was an Indian resident

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[8] In making the paraphrases, I faced the difficulties in conveying the "feel" of the interaction while at the same time, in trying not to deviate from the English glosses. This is a problem which an analyst must face when transcribing any conversation, whether monolingual or bilingual, as pointed out by Ochs (1979) and Edelsky (1981) among others. At any rate, the reader should bear in mind that the paraphrases alone do not truly reflect what was said in the interaction. For other transcription convention I follow Tannen (1984).

in England, who did not get hired after a job interview where cross-cultural miscommunication took place between him and his British interviewers. Mami imagines desperate feelings which the Indian resident experienced and she describes such feelings as so overwhelming that he became blind to the fact that miscommunication had taken place.

(4)

1 Mami:	Kazoku o yashinawa-nakya family OBJECT support	In situations where he must support his family," or he's
2	ikenai toka okane ga nai must or money SUBJECT not have	running out of money, chances are that he can't see the
	n-da toka tte iu jokyo ni or situation in	difference [in ways of speaking], all the worse.
3	natte, yokei become all the worse	
4	mie-nai to omou no ne. see-not that think	
5 Asako:	un. yeah	Yeah.
6 Kazuko:	un.	Yeah.
7 Minako:	Naruhodo ne. I see	I see.
8 Mami:	"nande, nande" tte.	Like "Why, why [don't they understand me]?"
9	aaiu jokyo demo like situation also	I think in such situations
10	hito o semeru koto shika other OBJECT blame thing only	he can do nothing but blame the interviewers.

In line 8 where Mami imagines and constructs the Indian's

monologue, she repeats his question "Why, why [don't they understand me]?" By the repetition, Mami conveys the Indian's strong feeling of accusation toward his interviewers who did not give him a job for which he believed he was well qualified. In other words, the feeling of accusation in the above excerpt is intensified by the repetition.

Thus, both the repetition of a morpheme at the morphological level and the repetition of an utterance at the discourse level express added intensity. This meaning is diagrammatically iconic because the repetition, that is, the increased quantity of the form resembles the increased quality of the meaning of the form.

3.2. ITERATION

The second iconic meaning expressed both in discourse and in morphology is iteration. Diagrammatic iconicity is obvious in this relationship between form and meaning: the repetition of form resembles the repetition of action.

Examples of iterative aspect expressed by reduplication are abundant. Discussing the origin and development of verbal reduplication, Bybee, Pagliuca and Perkins (in preparation: chapter 5) assume that iterative is maximally iconic and argue that other meanings such as continuative and frequentative developed from iterative. The following are their examples from Mwera cited in Doke (1950: 77).

(5)a

lya	"eat"
lyalyalya	"eat and eat and eat"

b	gwa	"fall"
	gwagwagwa	"fall and fall and fall"
c	tawa	"tie"
	tawa-tawa	"tie over and over again"

These are examples of total reduplication and triplication expressing repetition of a single action. The repetition of morphemes lya meaning "eat," gwa meaning "fall," and tawa meaning "tie" expresses the iterative aspect.

At the discourse level, an example of repetition implying repeated action is found in Tannen's study of Greek narratives (Tannen 1983: 362). The following excerpt was told by a Greek woman describing her experience of being molested (the underline in the excerpt was added by me to highlight repetition).

(6) ton evrisa, "Den drepese, palianthope?"
toupa, toupa, toupa ekei...
"satire, yero, aidestate, saliari,"
toupa toupa toupa.

'I cursed him, "Aren't you ashamed, scoundrel?"
I told him, I told him, I told him there...
"Satyr, dirty old man, repulsive [creature], slob"
I told him, I told him, I told him.

Tannen reports that the repetition of toupa indicates the speaker's repeated action of telling.

Norrick (1987:255)* notes that parallel structures in his data such as the following "reflect parallel objects or events in

* I am grateful to Hermine Penz for calling my attention to this reference.

an iconic manner" (again, the underline was added by me).

(7) P ...I have had from Haldeman, I have had from Ehrlichman, I have had from Colson cold, flat denials.

Here the repetition of construction I have had from iconically represents the repetition of the denials from different people.

In my data, the iteration of action is exemplified by the earlier instance (3) in which the speaker describes her experience on a dairy farm. She remembers that she was unwilling to do her duties on the farm because she was questioning her identity. This example is repeated here:

(8)

1 Mami:	anoo, jibun-wa well I-TOPIC	nan nan-da-roo what COPULA-wonder	and I strongly thought, "What am I?" then.
2	nan-te sugoku omoi-mashi-ta ne, that strongly think-PAST		
3	sonotoki. then		
4	nan nan-da-roo tte.		like "What am I?"

The repeated questioning of her identity is implied by her repeated utterance, "what am I?"

I have thus shown in both morphology and discourse that repeated form expresses repeated action. Diagrammatic iconicity is obvious in this relationship between form and meaning: the repeated form resembles the repeated action.

3.3.CONTINUATION

The last iconic meaning I present here, ie. continuation, is also present both in reduplication and conversational repetition. This meaning is iconic in the sense that the increased form represents the increased length of time during the action.

The following morphological examples are from Ewe in Ansre's study (Ansre 1963) and Tzeltal in Berlin's study (Berlin 1963: 214) cited by Moravcsik (1978: 319-320).

(9)a	Ewe	ba	"ask"
		babia	"be asking"
b	Tzeltal	-suh	"urge it done"
		-suhsuh	"continue to urge that it be done"

The continuation of action is expressed by the repetition of ba meaning "ask" in Ewe and -suh meaning "urge it done" in Tzeltal.

An example in my conversational data is the following in which the speaker describes her experience as an interpreter. The elongation of her work is signalled by the repeated use of "everyday" as well as the words, "long time."

(10)

1 Asako:	mainichi mainichi seminaa	when I was an interpreter for a seminar which involved longer contact [with the people I worked for] day by day,
	everyday seminar	
2	mi-tai-ni-shi-te choojikan	
	like do-INF long time	
3	tsuki-a-tte-ru ano, tsuuyaku	
	associate-CONT well interpret	
4	da-tta baai ni-wa,	

This use of repetition can be viewed also as iteration, in which the action of the speaker, ie. interpreting, is repeated.

Thus, in both morphology and discourse, repeated form expresses continuation. Diagrammatic iconicity in the form-meaning relationship in this case is that the increased form resembles the increased length of time during action.

In sum, I have shown a parallelism between reduplication and conversational repetition. Iconic meanings in reduplication and conversational repetition are intensity, iteration, and continuation. This serves as strong evidence for iconicity in discourse as well as in lexicon, morphology, and syntax.

However, there is yet another iconic meaning, which is characteristic of conversational repetition. This characteristic is due to differences in form and form-meaning relationship. The formal difference lies in the fact that in reduplication form is always repeated by the same speaker while in discourse form can be repeated by a different speaker. This is the case of allo-repetition. The difference in form-meaning relationship lies in the fact that in reduplication the relationship holds only between form and its semantic content whereas in discourse it holds among multiple meaning sources, such as participants' relationship with each other and with their utterance. This latter point is extremely important and is further discussed in the next section.

4.ICONICITY CHARACTERISTIC OF CONVERSATIONAL REPETITION

4.1.FORM-MEANING RELATIONSHIP IN DISCOURSE

As Schiffrin (1987a) demonstrates, discourse is a multi-dimensional phenomenon in which coherence is maintained not only at the propositional level but also pragmatic levels. Schiffrin suggests that textual meaning derives not only from the proposition at what she call "ideational structure" but also from inferences cued by cohesive devices, speaker's goals, intentions, and Grician maxims.

Becker (1979, 1988a, b, MS) also proposes multiple meaning sources. In contrast to Schiffrin, however, he recognizes not only cognitive but also interactional properties of such meaning sources. They include (1) interpersonal relations, ie. relations among participants and their relations to a text, (2) referential relations, ie. relations of a text to nonlinguistic events, (3) intertextual relations, ie. relations of forms within a text, (4) intratextual relations, ie. relations among texts, (5) intermedial relations, ie. relations of a text and its medium, and (6) silence.

Tannen, citing Bateson's notion of "message" and "meta-message" (Bateson 1972) and Goffman's notion of "footing" (Goffman 1981), suggests that meaning derives both from message, ie. the semantic content, and meta-message, ie. participants' relationship with each other and with their utterance (Tannen 1986, 1987a).

These scholars may disagree on how many meaning sources there are in discourse and why, but they would certainly agree that in discourse meaning does not arise from the semantic content of form alone.

Iconicity peculiar to my conversational data, not to reduplication, therefore, is due to the multiple meaning sources which discourse entails. The iconic meaning in discourse takes on interactional properties because what Bateson calls meta-message, ie. participants' relationships with one another and with their utterances, is also part of the meaning in the discourse.

4.2.REPETITION IN DISCOURSE AS AN INVOLVEMENT STRATEGY

Recognizing the multi-dimensionality of discourse such as above, Tannen (1987a, b, 1989) demonstrates multiple functions of repetition in discourse. She notes the prevalence of repetition in discourse and identifies both cognitive and interactional functions of repetition in conversation: production, comprehension, connection, and interaction. These functions operate on the multiple planes of discourse to achieve multiple communicative goals. That is, at what Bateson (1972: 177-193) calls "message level" of talk, namely, the semantic content of an utterance, repetition contributes to production, comprehension, and connection in order to achieve what Chafe (1981 and 1985) calls "integration" of ideas. But at what Bateson calls the "meta-message level" of talk, that is, the discourse

participants' relations to one another and their relations to their utterances, repetition contributes to interactional purposes. Tannen argues that these cognitive and interactional functions together achieve "an over-arching function," namely, "the establishment of coherence and interpersonal involvement" (Tannen 1989: 48).

In the local discourse context, then, repetition has several specific functions to achieve each of the four functions discussed above. The interactional functions, for example, include "getting or keeping the floor, showing listenership, providing back-channel responses," and among other things, "ratifying another's contribution" (Tannen 1987a:583-4). As Tannen points out, these interactional functions in the local discourse contexts serve to connect participants both with their utterances and with each other, establishing coherence and interpersonal involvement among participants.

Tannen (1982, 1985) stresses the importance of the notion of "relative focus on interpersonal involvement" as a useful theoretical concept which explains different linguistic features employed in various genres of discourse such as oral/literate discourse. Biber and Finegan (1989), confirm Tannen's claim by their quantitative examination of informational/involved continuum (as well as continua of elaborated/situation-dependent and abstract/nonabstract) to discuss English genres and their evolution. Further, Tannen (1989) proposes "involvement strategies" in discourse and demonstrates that repetition, along

with dialogue and imagery, serve as such strategies.

Tannen also suggests, citing Havelock (1963), that involvement strategies create "emotional identification" between the speaker and the audience (Havelock 1963: 160 cited by Tannen 1989: 194-195). She demonstrates, in her analysis of the political oratory delivered by the Reverend Jesse Jackson in the 1988 Democratic National Convention, that Jackson's uses of involvement strategies help him "communicate his ideas and move his audience toward acceptance of them and of him" (p. 194). Thus, "emotional identification" between the speaker and the audience is brought into being by the involvement strategies in Jackson's speech.

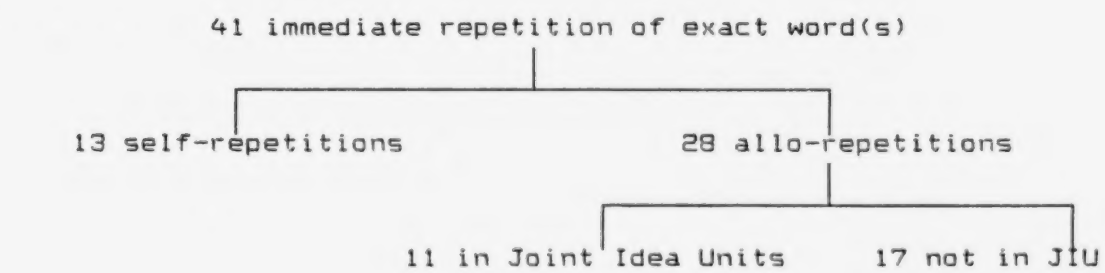
Based on Tannen's claim that repetition creates coherence and interpersonal involvement and that interpersonal involvement grows out of emotional identification, I now demonstrate an iconic meaning which is characteristic of discourse. This characteristic is due to interactional properties of meaning in discourse. I, therefore, call this iconicity "interactional iconicity."

Specifically, confirming Tannen's finding, I show a similar phenomenon in my Japanese data; that is, repetition creates a sense of congruence of the self with the other as the maximal effect of coherence and interpersonal involvement. I, then, demonstrate that this meaning of repetition, that is, the congruence of the self with the other, can be seen as iconicity in discourse.

4.3.REPETITION CREATING COHERENCE AND INTERPERSONAL INVOLVEMENT

Iconicity peculiar to discourse, not to reduplication is expressed by repetition whose form is also peculiar to discourse: allo-repetition, ie. repetition of an utterance said by the other speaker. Allo-repetition occurs about twice as much as self-repetition in my data. The following table shows the occurrences of immediate repetition of exact word(s) in my data.

Table 1. OCCURRENCES OF IMMEDIATE REPETITION OF EXACT WORD(S)



The table shows a total of 41 occurrences of repetition. Of these 41, more than half are allo-repetitions. 11 of these 28 allo-repetitions occur in what I call "joint idea units," which I define as I show an example in the following.

The following is an example of allo-repetition in a joint idea unit. This exchange between Asako and Kazuko occurs when the participants are agreeing with each other in discussing the

difficulties bilingual people face in acculturation. I show that this excerpt constitutes one idea unit and that repetition serves to connect both the idea and the two speakers, achieving coherence and interpersonal involvement.

(11)

1	Asako:	dakara maa so well	So, well,
2		kocchi ni immigrant de here to immigrant as	like [Japanese] immigrants here in the US or
3		kite-ru hito toka, come-STATE people like	
4		nihon ni i-naraga Japan in stay-CONTINUOUS	people in Japan who have gone to American schools,
5		american school ni American school to	
6		i-cchat-tta hito toka go-PERFECT-PASt people like	
7	Kazuko:	so so so right	Right right right
8		....	
9	Asako:	ii-yoo de i-te, good-seem COPULA be-INF	although [they] seem fortunate,
10	Kazuko:	sore-wa kitsui-n-ja-nai, uun. that-TOPIC tough-CO-NEG mmhmm	It's tough [for them], isn't it?
11	Asako:	nakanaka kitsui-n-ja-nai ka fairly	It's tough [for them], I think.
12		to omou. that think	

I claim here that Kazuko's turn 10, that is, "It's tough [for them], isn't it?" is ideationally connected with the end of

Asako's turn, namely, "like Japanese immigrants in the US or people in Japan who have gone to American schools." This is based on the fact that in line 7 Kazuko shows strong agreement with Asako's idea before she actually hears it. All Kazuko hears from Asako at this point is an argument in a proposition, that is, Japanese immigrants in the US and Japanese who have gone to American schools. What about them? This is not a complete proposition. Kazuko's agreement shows her anticipation about what's coming up. The one-second pause in line 8 thus could be attributed to Kazuko waiting for Asako to continue her idea, or it could be attributed to Asako waiting for Kazuko to take over the turn and complete the idea for Asako. In lines 9 and 10, the two start the turn and idea simultaneously.

In Asako's lines 4 through 6, namely, "people who have gone to American schools," and 9, ie. "although they seem fortunate," and 11, "it's fairly tough for them," the ideational connection is easier to see because the utterances are said by the single speaker and because the incompleteness of the lines 6 and 9 is signalled by grammar and the intonation contour. Thus, we have seen that lines 1 through 12 constitute one proposition jointly constructed by the two. I call this proposition created by more than one participant "a joint idea unit."

The significance here is that Asako completes the idea by repeating Kazuko's turn 10, that is, "It's tough [for them]." We, the analysts, do not know whether this information in line 10 was in fact what Asako had in mind as Kazuko anticipated. The

significance lies not in the correctness of Kazuko's anticipation, but in the fact that Asako repeats Kazuko as a show of her acceptance of the anticipated idea. The idea now has been jointly completed by the two, achieving coherence. Allo-repetition in connecting the idea in this instance also achieves interpersonal involvement by expressing the agreement of the idea. In other words, coherence derives from the repeated idea conveyed through utterances from one participant to the other. Interpersonal involvement derives also from the repetition which functions as agreement with the other.

Thus, I have shown that repetition achieves coherence and interpersonal involvement, supporting Tannen's claim.

4.4.REPETITION CREATING A SENSE OF CONGRUENCE OF SELF WITH OTHER

Further supporting Tannen, I find a sense of congruence between the participants in the above excerpt as the maximal effect of coherence and involvement. This effect derives not only from the idea itself, but from the fact that participants jointly construct the idea, repeating the other. In other words, the sense of congruence derives from both the congruence of the semantic content and the congruence of the participants' relationship with their utterance. In the above excerpt, Asako's repetition of Kazuko's utterance ("It's tough [for them]) creates the congruence of the message (ie. "It's tough [for them]) and meta-message (ie. "I agree with your anticipated idea").

The above excerpt represents a pattern of turns in my

Japanese data. In other words, allo-repetition often appears in joint idea units where a participant anticipates an idea, which is repeated by the other as a show of agreement. The following scheme illustrates this pattern.

SCHEME: ALLO-REPETITION IN A JOINT IDEA UNIT

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1. speaker A starts idea X in utterance x
2. speaker B completes idea X by idea X' in utterance y
3. speaker A repeats idea X' in utterance z

I superimpose the scheme on example (11) in the following.

SCHEME	EXAMPLE (11)	
1. speaker A starts idea X	1 Asako:	So, well, like Japanese immigrants in the US or people in Japan who have gone to American schools,
	7 Kazuko:	Right, right, right,
	8	....
	9 Asako:	Although they seem fortunate,
2. speaker B completes idea X by idea X'	10 Kazuko:	It's tough for them, isn't it?
3. speaker A accepts idea X' by repetition	11 Asako:	It's fairly tough for them, I think.

The net effect of this scheme is the establishment of what Tannen calls coherence and interpersonal involvement. The participants are linked through the idea. As the maximal effect of coherence and interpersonal involvement, the repetition in turn 3 in the scheme creates a sense of congruence of the self with the other because the repetition expresses that the two participants hold the same idea.

The next example more clearly illustrates this effect, ie. a sense of congruence of the self with the other since, by repetition, the participants not only express the same idea but also the same stance that each takes with respect to their idea at the end of an argument.

Example (12) appears at the end of disagreements between Kazuko and Asako about acculturation and miscommunication. Prior to this exchange Kazuko expresses a view that miscommunication in the video they saw was caused by failure in acculturation on the part of the Indian resident in the video. Asako disagrees with this view, stating that the Indian should not be held responsible for the miscommunication at all. Kazuko convinces Asako that the responsibility should be equally shared between the Indian resident and his British conversational partners. Asako, then, states that people with good intentions to understand one another still cause miscommunication. Allo-repetition in a joint idea unit occurs where Kazuko agrees with Asako on this point.

In order to illustrate the function of allo-repetition clearly, I first show the procedure of this argument between

Kazuko and Asako concerning the cause of miscommunication.

1 Kazuko argues against the Indian resident, while Asako argues for him.

2 Kazuko softens her position against the Indian and states that the responsibility for the miscommunication is equally shared between the Indian and the British.

3 Asako states that people with good intentions to understand one another still cause miscommunication.

4 Kazuko agrees with Asako.

Each step in the above procedure is a stance which each participant takes with respect to the cause of miscommunication. Allo-repetition in a joint idea unit occurs at step 4 where both participants reach an agreement.

(12)

1	Asako:	otagai, sono ano each other uh uh	Even if there were [good] intentions to
2		rikaishi-yoo toiu intenshon ga understand-try intention SUBJECT	understand one another at first,
3		sakini at-ta to shite mo, at first exist-PAST even	
4		Kazuko: un un yeah	Yeah.
5		nakanaka ningen tte ne really human beings	It's [difficult] to see [good intentions
6		soko ga honto niwa that SUBJECT really	because we are imperfect human beings].
7		kekkyoku koo after all like,	So, after all,

8	miscommunication te iu-no-wa miscommunication TOPIC		Miscommunication like this
9	yoku frequently		frequently.
10 Kazuko:	└yoku aru-daroo occur-suppose		frequently occurs, I think.
11 Asako:		└ yoku aru-daroo	frequently occurs, I think.
	to-wa omou . that-TOPIC think		
12 Kazuko:		└to-wa omou.	I think.

This is the most striking instance of allo-repetition in my data because of the place of its occurrence in the conversation, that is, at the end of an argument. Asako starts her idea by saying "Miscommunication like this frequently" in line 8. By anticipating Asako's idea and displaying it, Kazuko shows the agreement with Asako in line 10 ("It frequently occurs"). Then by repeating the anticipated idea in line 11 ("Frequently occurs, I think"), Asako shows the acceptance of Kazuko. Kazuko again repeats Asako by saying "I think" in line 12. This is triple ratifying repetition[10]. Not only the idea, but also the different stance that each has taken with respect to an idea during the argument, have now become the same. This pattern of turns conveys a sense of congruence of the self with the other in both

[10] Tannen suggested this term to me (personal communication).

the idea and the stance.

In sum, I have supported Tannen's claim by showing that (1) allo-repetition in a joint idea unit achieves coherence and interpersonal involvement in my Japanese data and that (2) as the maximal effect of coherence and involvement, the allo-repetition creates a sense of congruence of the self with the other. In the next section, I will demonstrate that this meaning expressed by allo-repetition in the scheme described above is diagrammatically iconic.

4.5. INTERACTIONAL ICONICITY

Earlier I discussed that, in contrast to form-meaning relationship in morphology, discourse involves not only semantic but also interactional properties such as participants' relationships with one another and with their utterance. It therefore follows that the iconic meaning expressed in discourse takes on interactional meaning. Now I point out diagrammatic iconicity which is interactional in the recurrent pattern of turns illustrated above. In other words, I discuss that repetition in the scheme iconically represents the relation of the repeater with the repeated. I show the scheme discussed above again.

SCHEME: ALLO-REPETITION IN A JOINT IDEA UNIT

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1. speaker A starts idea X in utterance x
2. speaker B completes idea X by idea X' in utterance y

3. speaker A repeats idea X' in utterance z

In this scheme, in turn 3, speaker A repeats the words of speaker B. This repetition of utterance y also represents the repetition of idea X'. However, this idea X' is in fact part of idea X, or at least accepted to be so by speaker A. The very fact of repeating it is a show of acceptance as we have seen above. Therefore, in turn 3, speaker A is actually repeating her original idea X transferred via speaker B. The effect of coherence and interpersonal involvement is maximally achieved here, creating a sense of congruence of the self with the other. That is, as we have seen, the congruence is made both in the idea and the stance. Thus, repeating the utterance of the other represents repeating the self which is made congruent with the other in both the idea and the stance. It is in this sense that allo-repetition in a joint idea unit exhibits diagrammatic iconicity which is interactional.

In sum, based on Tannen's claim that repetition creates coherence and interpersonal involvement, I have shown that repetition in my conversational data creates a sense of congruence of the self with the other. In addition to the iconic meanings which are parallel to iconicity in reduplication, I have demonstrated that this can also be seen as iconicity in discourse.

5.CONCLUSION

I have shown that iconic meanings in discourse parallel to those in morphology are expressed by repetition of form. These iconic meanings are intensity, iteration, and continuation. In this parallel iconicity, form, in its most general sense, increases its quantity. Meaning, in its most general sense, also increases its quantity.

However, due to the multi-dimensional phenomenon of discourse, repetition in discourse conveys both message and meta-message. Repeated utterances iconically correspond to the repeated idea and stance of participants. This is interactional iconicity. The repetition of the idea and the stance creates a sense of congruence of the self with the other both in the idea and the stance. I summarize these two kinds of iconic meanings in discourse as well as the iconic meanings in reduplication in the following chart.

ICONICITY IN REDUPLICATION AND CONVERSATIONAL REPETITION

REDUPLICATION

form	meaning
increased quantity of form	increased quantity of meaning
(eg. total or partial repetition of morpheme)	(eg. intensive, iterative, continuative)

CONVERSATIONAL REPETITION

form	meaning
repeated utterance	increased quantity of meaning
(eg. self- or allo-repetition, immediate or delayed repetition)	(eg. emphasis, iteration, continuation)
	repeated idea and stance
	(eg. congruence of self with other)

Examples of iconicity serve as evidence for a strong correspondence between form and meaning and this strong correspondence has two implications. On the one hand, iconicity implies language universals as discussed in the most of the works in iconicity. On the other hand, iconicity also implies what Becker calls "language in particular" (Becker 1988b). As he puts it, "language does not represent the world, or reflect it. Describing it creates it. Our language pushes us into those very biased ways of saying things. Ours is a world experienced in the act of interacting with it lingually, in the act of languaging

it" (p. 24). My thesis in this study also has such two implications; it pertains to universality since I showed that Tannen's claim about conversational repetition in English also applies to my Japanese data. On the other hand it also pertains to particularity since I argued that what repetition signifies derives not only from the semantic content of the repeated utterance but also the very act of repeating, suggesting the inseparability of language and reality. Because the discussion of these implications is beyond the scope of this paper, I would like to leave this fascinating aspect which language offers to a future study.

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